/453 cont./

501 Every additional person stepping in changes the unstable balance of the entire vessel considerably. If, meanwhile, a painful feeling of uncertainty comes over the occupant, he will find this repeatedly accentuated in alternately stronger and weaker fashion throughout the trip, either because of a slight change in the current, a larger or smaller succession of waves, or, finally, because of gusts of wind for which the projecting canoe offers an extensive target area.

502 Every woman is amazingly skilled at paddling. She succeeds in preventing the vessel from bouncing jerkily with every stroke of the paddle and in making the slight zigzag line of the course less noticeable. Nevertheless, a person in the boat soon feels this movement. The longer it continues, the more it affects the general feeling of a European; uneasiness overtakes him, and in this situation of increasing uncertainty he longs for the moment when he can set foot on terra firma once again. No matter how often I told myself that my Indian companions were utterly reliable, every trip in a bark canoe was for me anything but soothing. The longer it lasted, the more sensitive I became to the slightest /454/ fluctuation in the equilibrium, and in the end I was nervously irritated. Our Indians, however, have long since become accustomed to these feelings; it is not that they have become insensitive to them, but with it all, their consciousness of safety and their long-tested reckless courage triumphs.

512 731 Out of this some of them develop a certain blind confidence, together with an overestimation of their ability and their judgment of existing weather conditions. Thus, many a canoe capsizes, chiefly, however, because of the incalculable tricks of the weather in that region. Not at all infrequently a family is seized by a whirlwind in the middle of a wide stretch of water or is threatened by breakers that no one could anticipate; since the canoe moves slowly, all human effort is overcome by the superiority of natural forces (145). Many a casualty is remembered

145. We repeat here a sad incident related by Hyades (q):353: "A large number of Fuegians wanted to cross a bay in two canoes in order to look for fungi on the opposite shore; the overloaded canoes foundered, the sea being bad, and

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/454 cont./
only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (q):352 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 33 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (i):15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness [273] destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 199 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large ursine seal, tēpē'a (Arctocephalus australis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramírez Islands. They are [823] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

[197] Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (i):15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /455/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fuegians can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/574 cont./

271 445 881 any. The candidates in the cíexaus, however, must use the tube each time, and toward the end of their probation they are instructed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 731 The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

/574 cont./

261 This shows that individual families may be in danger of having to suffer hunger at any time during the year, but only
731 in certain places (342). A family may suffer dire distress for

342. Despard (b):680 says very definitely: "Occasionally, through stress of weather in winter, they suffer hunger, but from their fat lookes /sic/, one would judge these painful occasions are rare" /cited in English/.

another, but far less frequent reason, when they lose their canoe, and do not make immediate contact with their own people. There are places where the available food /575/ animals are quickly exhausted, and whoever cannot leave such a place in time must be prepared to suffer hunger. Formerly, when this Indian tribe was more numerous, canoes were everywhere actively moving about; an abandoned family immediately summoned help by means of the customary smoke signals and was soon relieved. Finally, in most recent times, the food supplies of a family could become scarce when the family was struck by an epidemic. Children especially were in a serious situation when their parents or adult relatives were prevented from hunting for food because of illness. Neighbors, of course, were glad to help out, but even so, the days of bitter want sometimes continued for a while. It was probably very seldom, if at all, that a Yamana died of hunger alone.

261 Hyades (g):34 has described how the Indians behave in such difficulties. In times of food scarcity "if chance does not let them find a dead seal or a stranded whale on the shore, it means, of course, fasting. Then they lie motionless in their huts around the smoldering fire and get up only if fresh firewood is needed. If their hunger grows too intense, they gather the roots of Armeria magellanica (343) on the beach, and although these contain

343. Sometimes also dandelion leaves (Taraxacum). They want this, above all, to suppress the feeling of hunger. Compare Outes (g):53 and Hyades (f):564.

/948 cont./

even become impossible to obtain much firewood conveniently in a particular place. Yielding to natural forces, the group will retreat to a more favorable spot.

It is only in most recent times that an epidemic in the common camp around the *Kina* hut has forced the termination of the celebration. In olden times the people did not have to cope with this obstacle. Occasionally, however, the demise of a particularly beloved person during an initiation has been such a shock to the people present that they /949/ were unable to continue it and dispersed. Usually they met elsewhere for *yamalalemona*, the great ceremony of mourning.

In all this one must not overlook the fact that after a considerable length of time, especially when the affair has continued for several months, an oppressive boredom affects all the participants. In spite of its diversity, the daily program does not offer enough variety to keep the restless temperaments of these Fuegians interested beyond a certain period. Their wanderlust often strikes so forcefully that during the *Kina* celebration they now and then depart for a few days and seek the desired relaxation in another environment. Once the paralyzing leadenness has settled on a considerable number of the participants, hardly anything can restore their initial fresh enthusiasm. In such an instance, release comes only with the conclusion of the celebration.

The leader and the overseer watch the predominating mood. If some indication makes them uneasy, they first exchange opinions between themselves and afterward with older men. After a certain amount of consideration, the leader finally requests those present to prepare for the concluding ceremony. He need expect no contradiction from individuals or from a group, and everyone complies with his order. His word alone suffices, and with the announcement of his decision, which, of course, always is made with the consent of several influential men, the *Kina* celebration is actually over. The last act is a brief, but meaningful and stimulating formality.

On the evening of the same day on which the leader has announced the impending conclusion of the celebration, rarely on the following evening, a special ceremony must be held, based on two important ideas. First comes the formal adoption of the *ahwala*

/1071 cont./

kʰpa	mayamonumʰa,	tʰiagwʰja:	
from above	teeth show,	alas,	
kʰmmaxigaja	wʰj	qiwʰkʰa	oma yʰjx olwpa,
who may follow	cause	your	tears to flow,
tʰiagwʰja.			
alas.			

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning. On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wʰlapaxa-wʰja, "the bay of the great murderer," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 300 /in unannotated portion/ for details.

(38) nʰi kacumʰja kʰi kʰnʰjwanʰjʰkʰja.
I discontent with my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watawinʰwa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

/1101 cont./

1. Death

761 The Fuegian faces all uncertainty with astonishing equanimity and quiet self-control. He is able /1102/ to await death with open eyes, without fear and alarm. Wyndam (p):328 expresses himself conservatively and merely says: "They have little fear of death" /translated from French/, but this is admitting too much. Bridges (1):14 expresses himself more accurately: "They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life" /cited in English/. Certainly, everyone clings to life and loves it very much; for that reason also the threats of Watauineiwa of an untimely death have a sure effect on the individual's conduct. As soon as he sees there is no escape, however, he submits at once without complaint. One never hears a person regretting that he must depart from this life, although he knows nothing about the new form of existence which he is entering.

165 761 [731] In earlier centuries, as in most recent times, almost all Yamana died a natural death. Fatal accidents were exceptions and murder even more so. It has been shown that epidemics have wrought havoc in the Indian population only since their closer association with Europeans. Except for children's deaths, the greater majority of Yamana succumb to old age. "Old people die because they are old!" Although in this case the Indians place more emphasis on the natural process as something they take for granted, nevertheless they do not completely forget that Watauineiwa causes death.

763 The indications of approaching death usually appear suddenly. If a person feels his strength leaving him, he stretches out on his miserable pallet and informs those present of his condition. They immediately take it into account, and from then on the nearest relatives stay close to him in order to observe the course of events. In such a situation death usually follows within a few hours. Strangely enough they make no effort to relieve the dying person by attending him, but squat around the fire, apparently quite indifferent. The person himself does not want or demand anything, for he rapidly becomes weaker. Actually the people present are waiting for a quick end and do not watch the dying one closely because they know they cannot help him. When the

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
734 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

731 Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
766 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a person who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

763 The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
152 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watauineiwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

172 361 The densest population in this group centered on Cambaceres bay, where 367 hut-pits were counted. The camp-sites on the south side, known to the Indians as Wĭkirrh, display unusually deep house-pits, while Lanáshwaía (pl. XVII, *b*) on the opposite

[102 103]

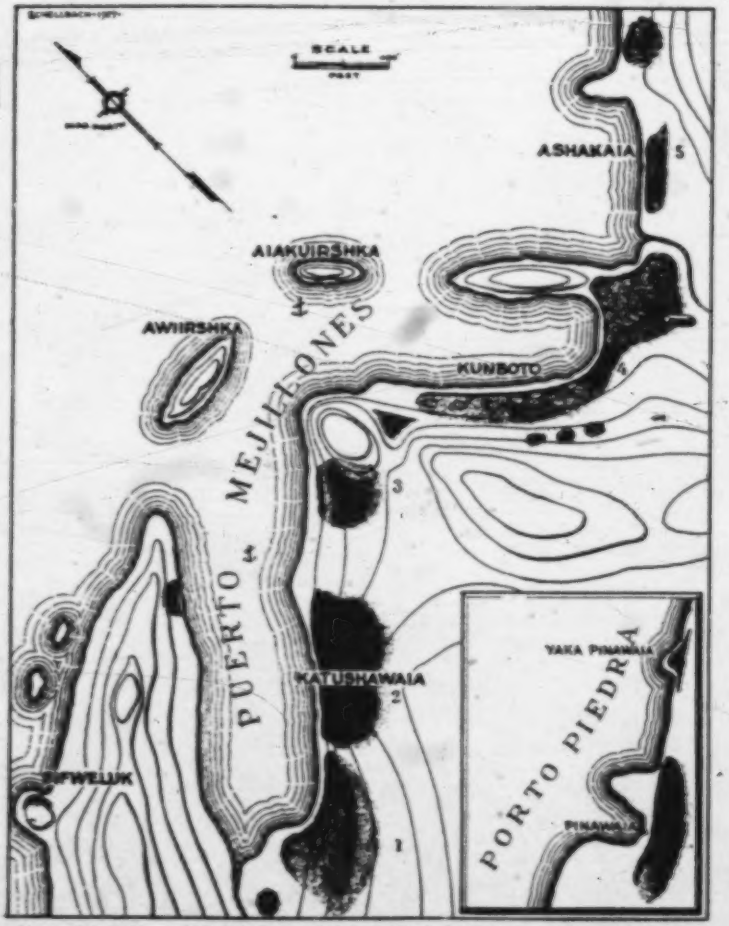

FIG. 101.—Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra shellheaps, Navarin island.

shore was evidently a later or less popular settlement, as the pits are relatively shallow.

731 About 1880 there occurred here one of those tragedies which must have been not uncommon among the Yahgan. A dead

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

whale floated ashore, and Ona and Haush came to join the local Yahgan in the ensuing feast. But all were poisoned by the meat and most of the company died—so many indeed that the survivors fled, leaving the bones of their relatives to whiten the beach for many years afterward.

Imiwaia bay (pl. III, lower) is completely landlocked and the tide runs strongly through the narrow entrance. Hence it is not readily accessible. The large heap No. 22 (Lanáshwaía) backs on it, but the principal access to this camp must have been from the Cambaceres side. In the northwest corner, however, there is a large and very deep midden (No. 17), of which we give a section in fig. 99. This is conveniently situated beside a small stream, and its approach from the entrance channel is sheltered from the prevailing westerly winds. Heap 51, on the north shore, was evidently abandoned long ago, as large beech-trees had grown on top of the refuse—the only case of this kind observed by the writer. The upper end of Imiwaia bay is shallow and muddy, and not suited for camp-sites.

Harberton bay, the headquarters of the Bridges' sheep ranches on the south coast, is ideally suited for camp-sites, and no fewer than fifteen were inspected. Of these, No. 2, which has been described above (page 181), and Nos. 4, 5, 11, and 13, are large and important. No. 6 was occupied by Indians in the summer of 1923–24. This bay well illustrates the Yahgan tendency to give every few hundred yards of coast-line a separate name.

The Thouctof bay middens, although numerous, are for the greater part small, and offer no peculiarities.

The other groups of shellheaps examined differ in no material way from the Harberton cluster. In fig. 100 we show the settlements along the channel between Tierra Mayor and Gable island, a sheltered, well-watered, and well-wooded region, which affords a convenient resting place at the end of an exposed strip of coast to the westward. The size of some of the middens is as follows:

Camp-site	Number of Huts	Camp-site	Number of Huts
4	6	9	8
5	34	10	40
6	7	11	12
7	1	12	8
8	8	13	12